

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY AND SCHAUFLE FROM EDMONDSON

DEPT REPEAT TO LUSAKA AND LONDON FOR LOW AND SEITZ

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PFOR, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: PICKING UP LOOSE ENDS; AWAITING NEXT STEPS

1. SUMMARY: RICHARD IS AWAITING WORD FROM LONDON ON POSSIBLE PAPER TO PRESENT TO PATRIOTIC FRONT (PF) IN MAPUTO JANUARY 16. RICHARD HOPES THAT WITH WRITTEN PROPOSALS PF CAN BE PERSUADED TO SAY THAT BRITISH IDEAS ARE ACCEPTABLE AS A BASIS FOR NEGOTIATIONS DESPITE PF'S INCONSISTENTLY PHRASED REJECTION OF BRITISH IDEAS IN LUSAKA. IF THEIR RESPONSE IS POSITIVE THERE MAY THEN BE BASIS TO GO ON TO SEE VORSTER AND PERHAPS SMITH. IF NOT, IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO CARRY THE PROCESS FURTHER. END SUMMARY.

2. MEETINGS WITH RICHARD IN DAR YESTERDAY AND LUNCH WITH MANSFIELD TODAY PRODUCED SOME ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON RICHARD'S "STRANGE" MEETING WITH PATRIOTIC FRONT, DESCRIBED IN LUSAKA 0064. AFTER LISTENING TO BRITISH OUTLINE THEIR PROPOSALS, PF'S INITIAL REACTION WAS TO ASK FOR SOMETHING ON PAPER. WHEN RICHARD SAID THEY
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COULD SURELY GIVE SOME REACTION, THEY ASKED FOR SHORT ADJOURNMENT. AFTER 25 MINUTES, THEY CAME BACK WITH WRITTEN STATEMENT WHICH MUGABE READ OUT, COMPLAINING THAT BRITISH PROPOSAL WAS "RACIALIST" AND PF WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH IT. THEY REITERATED THEIR OWN PROPOSALS, LABELED "NONRACIAL," AND REJECTED THE BRITISH IDEAS. THE BRITISH ARGUED THAT RACIAL "LABELS"

COULD BE ELIMINATED IF THAT WAS ALL THAT BOTHERED THEM, BUT PF MADE IT CLEAR THEY DISLIKED THE APPORTIONMENT OF SEATS ON A RACIAL BASIS. AT SAME TIME NKOMO REPEATED THE CALL FOR THE BRITISH TO PUT THEIR "FLOATING IDEAS" IN WRITING, LEST THEY "FLOAT RIGHT AWAY." DESPITE THEIR STATED REJECTION OF THE BRITISH IDEAS, PF INCONSISTENTLY SAID THEY "LOOKED FORWARD TO CONSIDERING THE IDEAS" WHEN THE BRITISH HAD "CONCRETIZED" THEM.

3. RICHARD SAID THE RF'S BASIC POSITION WAS ONE OF CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR IDEAS RF HAD AGREED UPON AND PUT FORWARD IN GENEVA. THEY SPOKE OF A DIVISION OF REPRESENTATION IN THE INTERIM GOVERNMENT BETWEEN TWO THIRDS FOR THE "LIBERATION MOVEMENT" (MEANING THEMSELVES) AND ONE-THIRD FOR "THE OTHERS".

IN LARGE PART, RICHARD THOUGHT THE RF'S INFLEXIBILITY STEMMED FROM THE DIFFICULTY THEY HAD IN AGREEING AMONG THEMSELVES; THEY KEPT RETURNING TO THEIR GENEVA PROPOSALS BECAUSE THAT WAS WHAT THEY HAD AGREED UPON. NKOMO AND MUGABE WERE EACH ACCOMPANIED BY A LARGE NUMBER OF THEIR COLLEAGUES, INCLUDING JASON MOYO AND GEORGE SILUNDIKA WITH NKOMO AND HAMADZARIPA, GUMBO, AND VARIOUS ZIPA PEOPLE ON MUGABE'S SIDE. NONETHELESS, TALKS WENT FAIRLY AMICABLY UNTIL THE END WHEN MUGABE WANTED RICHARD'S JET TO TAKE HIM BACK TO MAPUTO AS HE HAD DELAYED HIS DEPARTURE TO SEE THE BRITISH, TO WHICH RICHARD RESPONDED, "DON'T BE BLODDY SILLY."

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4. RICHARD'S PARTY BELIEVE THEY HAVE TO PRODUCE SOME KIND OF PAPER TO ENABLE THE PF TO BREAK AWAY FROM THEIR OWN AGREED PROPOSALS AND WORK OUT A COMMON RESPONSE TO THE NEW BRITISH PROPOSALS. THEY HAVE PROPOSED TO LONDON THAT THIS BE SOMETHING MORE DETAILED THAN THEIR ORAL PRESENTATION BUT LESS PRECISE THAN THE PAPER ON INTERIM GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE THEY GAVE TO US ON DECEMBER 20. I ASKED THAT THEY SHARE WITH ME AND WASHINGTON ANY DRAFTS THEY MIGHT BE CONSIDERING AND MANSFIELD PROMISED TO LET ME KNOW AS SOON AS THEY GOT ANYTHING FROM THE FCO WHICH IS MEETING ON THE SUBJECT TODAY.

5. RICHARD, MANSFIELD, AND GRENNAN ALL APPRECIATE THE PITFALLS OF PROVIDING SPECIFIC EXAMPLES OF THE IDEAS THEY HAVE IN MIND, PARTICULARLY IF THIS WERE TO HAVE THE EFFECT OF FORMALIZING THEIR PROPOSAL BEFORE SOME TENTATIVE AGREEMENT HAD BEEN OBTAINED FROM VORSTER AND SMITH. MANSFIELD ADDED THAT LONDON STILL HAS

A DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROBLEM IN HAVING THE PROPOSALS PUT INTO WRITING AS WELL. NONETHELESS THEIR CURRENT THINKING IS THAT SOME SORT OF PAPER IS REQUIRED AND SHOULD BE THE SAME FOR ALL THE PARTIES.

6. MANSFIELD SAYS THE JANUARY 16 APPOINTMENT WITH NKOMO AND MUGABE IS STILL TENTATIVE FROM THE BRITISH POINT OF VIEW AND MUST BE CONFIRMED, BUT HE BELIEVES THEY WILL KEEP IT AS THERE WOULD NOT BE ANOTHER CHANCE TO SEE THE PF LEADERS TOGETHER UNTIL JANUARY 27. AS FAR AS OTHER TRIPS ARE CONCERNED, THERE IS A POSSIBILITY MANSFIELD MIGHT TRAVEL BRIEFLY TO ADDIS ABABA TO BRIEF THE OAU ON THEIR EFFORTS, BUT RICHARD WILL PROBABLY STAY IN NAIROBI. THEIR MOVE SOUTH MIGHT BEGIN ON SATURDAY WITH AN OVERNIGHT STOP IN MBABANE BEFORE GOING TO MAPUTO ON SUNDAY. IF THEY GIVE A PAPER TO THE PF IN MAPUTO THEY MAY ALSO GO TO LUSAKA TO GIVE
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COPIES TO MUZEREWAS AND SITHOLE'S REPRESENTATIVES (ALTHOUGH THEY COULD HAVE COPIES DELIVERED BY THE BRITISH HICOM IN LUSAKA). SHOULD THE PF RESPOND REASONABLY FAVORABLY TO RICHARD'S SECOND APPROACH, ESPECIALLY IF THEY WOULD AGREE THAT THE BRITISH IDEAS COULD FORM A BASIS FOR FURTHER NEGOTIATION, RICHARD WOULD PROBABLY GO ON TO SEE VORSTER AND SMITH. HE IS ALSO STILL CONSIDERING STOPS IN NIGERIA AND GHANA WHEN HE EVENTUALLY RETURNS TO LONDON. IF PF RESPONSE IF UNFAVORABLE, IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO KEEP THE NEW PROPOSALS IN PLAY.
MARSHALL

NOTE BY OCT: NOT REPEATED TO LUSAKA AND LONDON.

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